

Excerpts From Haig's Address at O.A.S. Meeting

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WASHINGTON, Dec. 4 — Following are excerpts from an address today by Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States in Castries, St. Lucia. The prepared text was made public here by the State Department.

At the dawn of the inter-American era, Simón Bolívar wrote that it was extremely difficult "to foresee the future fate of the New World, to set down its political principles or to prophesy what manner of government it will adopt." The history of the Americas since his time has shown that liberty was to be the basis of the New World's political principles and democracy its preferred manner of government. The nations of this hemisphere, despite their diverse cultures, drew strength from their historic mission to offer man the opportunity for self-development in freedom.

Today, the Americas are confronted by new obstacles to the achievement of this mission. Democracy is being questioned. Economic progress is uncertain. And the prospects for peaceful change are threatened by a pattern of violent intervention.

If we have learned anything this century, it is that respect for the individual, democracy and the rule of law are essential to progress, yet under the stresses and strains of change, voices are heard again advocating that freedom be sacrificed, individual rights be curtailed and that government should dominate the productive process. Is the hemisphere going to be plagued again by totalitarian experiments that destroy liberty and also fail to deliver prosperity?

Seeking Stable Growth

This region's rich natural resources, productive agriculture and increasingly sophisticated technology should offer a bright future. But the sustained economic growth of the past two decades seems to have slowed or halted. The terms of trade have turned sharply against many countries. Can we use this period of adjustment to forge the basis for a resumption of stable growth?

Experience has taught us that the search for economic progress, social justice and human dignity can succeed only in the context of peace and tranquility. Precious resources and energies necessary for development cannot be squandered on conflict. Yet today we are faced by a trend toward violent change, including so-called wars of national liberation and foreign intervention. Can we allow force to become the decisive arbiter of national destiny without jeopardizing our own prospects for peace and prosperity? It will not be easy to answer these questions. But if we are to advance at all we must draw on our collective strengths to create an agenda for cooperation.

This agenda should focus on three objectives: First, to reaffirm and promote democracy; second, to create new economic opportunity, and third, most urgently, to oppose interventionism by strengthening the principles of nonintervention and collective security.

Clearly, a nation cannot be liberated when its people are deprived of liberty. A civilization cannot be creative when its poets and philosophers are in jail or in exile. A state cannot be free when its independence is subordinated to a foreign power. And a government cannot be democratic if it refuses to submit to the test of a free election. The O.A.S., true to its democratic tradition, should express its support for prompt, free and open elections as the best course for ending civil vio-



The Rev. Miguel D'Escoto Brockman, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, listening to Secretary of State Haig address the Organization of American States.

lence and keeping social peace. Specifically, we hope that the countries of this hemisphere will support the government of El Salvador as it leads its people through the electoral process toward a political solution of the conflict there.

The O.A.S. can also play a more active role in strengthening democracy throughout the region. If requested, this organization should be able to offer both technical services and good offices for the observation of elections. But we should go further. The nations of the Americas have already established many institutions for economic, social and military cooperation. Surely the time has come for us to create a permanent forum that will foster democratic leadership and the democratic process.

A Betancourt Institute

An Institute for the study of democracy in the Americas, under O.A.S. auspices, would provide a regular exchange of ideas and experiences among democratic leaders. By making the secretary general its director, we would insure a cooperative effort. And by naming the institute in honor of one of our greatest democratic leaders, Rómulo Betancourt, we would signify our high purpose.

Second, we can act together to create new economic opportunity. Economic growth can be revived if opportunity for productive enterprise is encouraged.

In this spirit, President Reagan committed the United States at Cancún to the search for progress through cooperation. He urged that we direct our attention to practical issues: How to develop energy and food resources; how to raise productivity through better education, health and nutrition; how to improve the climate for investment and trade.

We have already begun to cooperate together on a program for the economic development of the Caribbean basin. This program reflects the spirit

of Cancún. It is based on a clear understanding that the serious economic decline of many countries in the Caribbean and Central America can be reversed only by bold action. For our part, President Reagan is preparing a comprehensive economic package for the nations of the Caribbean basin. The package includes:

¶New legislative authority to offer the countries in the Caribbean basin major trading opportunities — including possible one-way free trade arrangements — in the United States market. We have never offered such a preference before to any region.

¶Specific investment incentives and other measures to spur private investment in private ventures.

¶An increase in U.S. financial assistance to deal with acute liquidity crises and to help countries achieve more flexible, diversified economies.

We believe that the Congress of the United States will see the wisdom of such an integrated approach and "prove these initiatives. And we hope that other countries working with us to alleviate the plight of our Caribbean neighbors will also offer meaningful proposals.

The Military Outlook

We must act to strengthen the principles of both nonintervention and collective security. The nations of the Western Hemisphere have long understood that the search for a better life depends not only on commerce, credit and trade but also on security. Born ourselves of revolutions, we have sought peaceful change as a basic objective of the inter-American system. And the principle of nonintervention has been regarded as fundamental to peace and progress.

History has shown, however, that the pledge of nonintervention by itself cannot prevent conflict. That task is beyond the power of any single nation. The Americas can be safe only if we work together, through collective security, to deal with threats to peace.

We must all face up to the fact that the principle of nonintervention is being violated today.

Since 1979, Cuba, with the support of the Soviet Union, has embarked on a systematic campaign of increasing interference against its neighbors. It no longer makes any pretense of respecting the sovereignty of other countries. Instead, Havana calls the leaders of violent opposition groups together, forges unity pacts among them, trains their men, provides their arms and sends them back to mount a violent challenge to legitimate governments. Terror for the innocent has been the result. We are witnessing this pattern in El Salvador, Guatemala and now in Colombia. All around the hemisphere, Democratic governments have had to downgrade or break relations with Cuba.

Size of Nicaraguan Army

There is also cause for worry in Nicaragua today. Despite commitments made to the O.A.S., pluralism is in danger of repression. The possibility of economic progress for the Nicaraguan people is being undermined by militarization.

The Sandinista regime already supports an army three times greater than that of the Government it replaced. Now it is working to establish the largest force in Central American history — with the assistance of at least 1,500 military and security advisers from Cuba. Nicaragua's arsenal already includes tanks and other heavy offensive weapons never deployed before in Central America. Pilots are being trained and facilities readied for modern jet fighters. Meanwhile, the principle of nonintervention is being violated as arms, ammunition and other military supplies flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran insurgents. The people of Nicaragua must be wondering about the purpose of these armaments. How can such a costly military array advance the cause of social justice? Whose interests are served by support of insurrection in El Salvador? The other nations of Central America must also be asking about the meaning of these military activities. They fear — and we must all fear — that the future may hold a costly arms race at the expense of economic development and social progress. They fear — and we must all fear — that the militarization of Nicaraguans is but a prelude to a widening war on Central America.

Collective Goals

For our part, the United States is prepared to join others in doing whatever is prudent and necessary to prevent any country in Central America from becoming the platform of terror and war in the region.

The United States has made proposals to Nicaragua to normalize relations. If Nicaragua addresses our concerns about interventionism and militarization, we are prepared to address their concerns. We do not close the doors to the search for proper relations.

But in addition, should we not be discussing together how to prevent the import of heavy offensive weapons — by any country in Central America? Should we not be searching for ways to limit the number of foreign military advisers to reasonable levels — in all countries of Central America? The countries of the region should know that the United States will help them resist illegal intervention from their neighbors or from the outside. President Reagan has made clear that we have no plans to send combat troops to Central America. But we will provide needed additional economic and military assistance. Small countries must be able to call for help when help is needed.